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ABSTRACT

To determine developmental patterns in emergent reading behaviors of young children, a longitudinal study was conducted of two-, three-, and four-year-old children's language when asked to "read" a favorite storybook. Thirty-two middle and low income children from a daycare center took part in four studies spaced over a year; four children were seen monthly; and all children read two books at a session. After choosing a book and sitting down at a table, the examiner asked the child why he or she selected a given book and then asked the child to read the book to the examiner and a stuffed animal. Sessions were videotaped, audiotaped, and transcribed. Analyses included categorizing each child's performance using the "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks" scale. Results showed children's behavior to be stable across storybooks. Children's emergent reading ability increased with age and showed developmental patterns consistent with the idea that children are making written and oral language distinctions long before they are reading from print. Children used appropriate comprehension strategies such as self-corrections and predictions of written language-like wording when "reading" from pictures. (Author/HOD)

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Children's Emergent Abilities to Read Favorite Storybooks

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A Final Report

to

The Spencer Foundation

August 1983

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Abstract

Longitudinal study of two, three, and four-year-old children's language when asked to "read" favorite storybooks. Thirty-two middle and low income children took part in four studies spaced over a year; four children were seen monthly; and all children read two books at a session. A scale of emergent reading ability was applied to both videotapes and typed transcripts with high correlations between raters for both modes. Additionally, children's behaviors were found to be stable across storybooks. Children's emergent reading ability increased with age and showed developmental patterns consistent with the idea that children are making written and oral language distinctions long before children are reading from print. Children used appropriate comprehension strategies such as self-corrections and predictions of written language-like wording when "reading" from pictures. Results are compared with a similar study with five-year-old kindergarteners. Implications for beginning reading instruction are discussed.

Children's Emergent Abilities to Read Favorite Storybooks

A Report to The Spencer Foundation

Elizabeth Sulzby

Northwestern University

For decades parents have reported that their babies "memorize books" and act as if they are reading. Researchers are currently turning attention to this phenomenon and are documenting how children learn to read from early interactions with storybooks like Three Billy Goats Gruff, Goodnight Moon, or Are You My Mother?

During 1981-82, the Spencer Foundation sponsored a longitudinal study of young children aged two to four-years-old "reading" from favorite storybooks. The purpose of that study, reported herein, is to further develop and test an emerging theory of literacy acquisition. Children's storybook readings were the testing ground.

The study was conducted from the perspective of emergent literacy, or the study of reading and writing behaviors of young children that develop into conventional, or independent reading (Teale

& Sulzby, Note 2). Typically, research in reading has only begun after the child is reading independently; the barriers are being pushed backward to infancy by this study and other related research (Anderson, Teale, & Estrada, 1980; Clay, 1982; Cochran-Smith, 1982; Doake, 1981; Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Harkness & Miller, 1982; Harste, Burke, & Woodward, 1981; Ninio, 1980; Snow, 1982; Taylor, 1982; Teale & Sulzby, 1982). Research and theory from earlier social and developmental workers like Luria (1978) and Vygotsky (1978) is being rediscovered and Piaget's thinking is being used in new, direct ways by researchers like Papandropoulou (1978) and Ferreiro (1978). These researchers are asking the question, how do children learn to read (and write), from a theoretical framework that treats the early reading and writing behaviors as legitimate parts of literacy.

Earlier approaches to reading development not only waited until the child was reading independently to examine reading, but also treated reading as if it began with low-level processes such as word recognition and/or decoding and only later developed into reading with comprehension. A typical research design included measuring the child's "readiness" in some manner "before reading," and then measuring the child's reading later in time, often first with a word list or test of letter-sound relationships and finally, at the end of first grade or beginning of second grade, with a test of reading comprehension.

The current research differs from earlier approaches in a number of ways. First, the young child is not assumed to divide aspects of

reading into so-called low and high level processes. Second, comprehension of written language is assumed to begin alongside other aspects of reading long before the child is reading independently from print. Finally, reading (and writing) are assumed to develop within the child's growing distinctions between oral and written language--distinctions which are not tied firmly to the physical delivery modes of speech and print.

These earlier approaches could not deal with the problem of how beginning readers come to use high level processes (like comprehension) as well as low level processes. For the fluent reader, processes such as letter recognition, word recognition, and letter-sound relationships are low level in a cognitive sense. For the beginning reader, such processes will eventually become well-learned and "low" level, but they acquire great attentional capacity and high level conceptualization during acquisition. The assumption in the earlier theories, which still exists in much current research, is that reading cannot be interactive for the beginner; the assumption in the research reported herein is that the process is interactive but not necessarily organized neatly and hierarchically in the fashion interactive theory postulated for the fluent reader (see Rumelhart, 1977; Lesgold & Perfetti, 1981).

An interactive model of reading requires that the reader be able to simultaneously use high and low level processes, dividing attention flexibly to test hypotheses at various levels. In earlier research, the child who was not yet reading independently or was just beginning

to read independently simply could not use high level processes that we familiarly call "comprehension," processes like predicting from our knowledge of the world, our schemata for different types of texts, or our knowledge of a particular storyline. The current research is documenting that children comprehend written language long before reading from print. This study is a further test of this claim.

Previously, researchers in early reading operated with a theory of language coming from linguistic theory that treated oral language and/or speech as primary. Current linguistic theory treats oral and written language as complexly related within cultures that differ in the distinctions that they make between the forms and functions of oral and written language (see Tannen, 1982 and forthcoming; Sulzby, 1982a). Reading researchers are beginning to study the complex distinctions that children make between oral and written language. In the study reported herein, I give examples of children using written language in an oral delivery mode; in related research (Sulzby, 1981, 1982a, and forthoming) I have reported children's use of oral language in written delivery forms (see also King & Rentel, 1981).

Research indicates that the early reading (and writing) behaviors develop into more and more mature behaviors that can lead into the beginnings of what has heretofore been considered to be reading or "beginning reading." I use the term independent reading; by independent reading, I mean the point at which the child coordinates the flexible and consistent use of knowledges and strategies about three aspects of reading in order to render a text understandable.

The three aspects of reading (Sulzby, 1981) are comprehension (as shown by construction of probable meaning or use of memory for text); word knowledge (as shown by treating the word as a bounded, stable, memorable unit of print); and letter-sound knowledge (as shown by flexible and developmentally appropriate use of letter-sound relationships). Children should continue to become more and more proficient after the point of first becoming independent but the current research is addressed at the period of development leading up to initial independence.

Theoretical Considerations About Storybook Reading

Learning to read and to write involves the re-conceptualization by the child of language which had its beginnings in oral contexts and functions. In other words, the acquisition of literacy can be said to involve a transition from oral language to written language; however, this transition is not simple and differs across individuals, families, and cultures. Nevertheless, some distinctions between oral and written language are important within a highly literate culture.

Oral language is typically face-to-face and interactive; written language is designed to have the composer and receiver removed in time and place from each other. Olson (1977) suggests that the issue of contextualization is crucial. Oral language is conceived as being highly contextualized, or highly dependent upon the present context. Written language requires decontextualization--or what I call re-contextualization, the providing of sufficient specification so that the contexts can be inferred from within the text itself.

Fortunately, many young children are ushered into an understanding of the differences between oral and written language within a social context in which written language is used in hybridized fashion at first and then gradually takes on its more conventional nature. Also, oral language has become imbued with characteristics of written language in highly literate cultures.

For example, parents use highly interactive language in reading a book to a young child, particularly when the book is new to the child (Bruner, 1978; Harkness & Miller, 1982). Similarly, teachers use interactive language when reading a new book to children (Cochran-Smith, 1982; Green & Harker, 1982; Teale & Sulzby, 1982). Gradually, as children become more mature in literacy expectations and/or more familiar with a book which is read repeatedly, the parent or teacher reads more of the book at a stretch with the children listening without interruption. The language of the book that is modelled in this form of reading is monologic, whereas the language used in the earlier readings had been dialogic.

Vygotsky (1978) observed that children move from interaction, not just in speech, but also in interaction with the environment and real objects, toward the non-interactive forms of written language. He claimed that written language has its roots in the child's action; that the child moves from action to symbolic play with abstract objects, to gesture, to drawing, and thence to written language. Vygotsky was writing specifically about writing but writing also involves reading what one is writing as a composer. Current research

(Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Sulzby, 1982a) is addressing the child's concepts about writing and reading and the writer/reader relationship that the young child develops as well as how these concepts are part of symbolization more generally.

Storybooks furnish a particularly useful context for exploring young children's understanding of reading as symbolization because they contain both pictures and written texts. For the child, storybooks may also seem to contain oral text for that is what the child hears read. The oral text can vary from interactive conversation to monologue depending upon the form of the parent's reading style. Additionally, the pictures themselves often allow for the use of gesture to indicate activity; again, parents often accompany reading to young children with gestures (cf. Ninio & Bruner's analysis of reading cycles).

What Children Internalize From Storybook Reading

A number of researchers (Clay, 1972; 1979; Doake, 1982; Goodman, 1980; Haussler, 1982; Holdaway, 1979; Rossman, 1979) have extended research in parent-child interaction with storybooks to ask what young children do when asked to read the book alone. Children's performances under these conditions are called "reading," both with and without quotes, "re-enactments," or "reading attempts." I use the terms interchangeably.

Some of the research thus far has been done either with materials, including tests, that have been designed for research purposes in order to maintain "control" over the stimulus items.

Increasingly, researchers are using the regular kinds of storybooks that children read in their homes and some are allowing each child to select his or her own favorites.

The latter practice raises a serious question methodologically. The studies that allow children to select their own books or use books that children typically choose as favorites (Doake, 1982; Haussler, 1982; Rossman, 1979) also have used very small sample sizes and/or have not reported the details of their methodology. Thus we need to know to what extent children's reading attempts prior to conventional reading are independent of the storybook chosen.

Sulzby (1981, 1982b) studied two groups of kindergarteners by asking them to select and "read" a "favorite storybook." The data collected seemed to be consistent with the theoretical position I have outlined in this report and the Sulzby (1982b) data were analyzed using a scale called the "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks" (Appendix A). I found that a group of 24 middle-class kindergarteners increased in emergent reading ability from the beginning to the end of their school year even though they were given no formal instruction in reading. However, each child selected only one book at each of the two sessions and chose the book based upon his or her own judgment that it was a "favorite."

The current study was designed to test the postulated developmental patterns in emergent reading with a group of younger children (ages two through four). These children were observed frequently over a year. Additionally, the issue of the stability of

the behavior over books was tested by collecting two storybook re-enactments at each session. Finally, specific behaviors of the children were examined in relation to the developmental patterns and in relation to the theoretical assumptions of the study.

Method

Design

The overall design for this longitudinal study of storybook reading is case studies embedded within larger-scale studies. Four separate studies over a year's interval included all of the children currently enrolled and attending a local day care center. From among those children, four children were interviewed monthly. Each study and the case studies are discussed separately.

Subjects

Thirty-two children were included in the study over the year's time; however, at any one time the maximum enrollment was 25. The children's age at the time of individual enrollment ranged from 2-5 to 4-11. At 5-0 the policy was to move the children to a different classroom; however, the timing of that move was flexible. Four children became five during the year, including two case study children and two who stayed in the classroom for a month longer. Data were collected for those children and were used in analyses when appropriate. Specific descriptions of subjects are reported with each analysis.

Parents were asked to allow their children to participate by letter and the principal investigator gave a presentation on the study early in the school year, using sample videotapes from the study to illustrate the research goals. Additionally, parents were asked to send in books from home for the final study and were interviewed at the conclusion of the study.

According to the director of the day care center, two-thirds of the children come from middle-income families and one-third from low-income families. About half of the children are from one-parent homes and about one-fourth are from black, hispanic, oriental, Iranian or East Indian families. The community is primarily middle-class with a high emphasis upon education and achievement. The day care center's philosophy appears to emphasize children's social/emotional development. Academically-oriented activities are treated in a low-pressure, child-oriented manner rather than as formal instruction.

Procedures

The researchers began to visit the classroom in October so that the children and teachers would become accustomed to them. Late in October, a technical crew made three trial videotapes in the classroom and allowed the children to touch and see the camera.

Individual interviews were held in an empty classroom across a hallway beginning in late November for the four case study children and in January for the entire class. When a researcher approached a child for an interview, she took time to talk a bit with the child. She then invited the child to select a stuffed animal from a large box the teachers had provided. For some sessions, children selected books from the classroom to bring with them as well; in others, the books were kept in the research room and the child selected the book after arriving.

The same general procedures were followed for all sessions. After choosing books and sitting down at the table, the examiner asked

the child why he or she selected a given book and then asked the child to read the book to "Snoopy and me" (using the name of whatever stuffed animal the child had chosen). If the child refused or said that he couldn't read, a structured set of encouragements was used:

Level one: "Try." "Do your best." "Give it a try."

Level two: "Pretend." "Pretend-read it."

Level three: "I can help you. What do you want me to do?"

Level four: "I can help you. Let's read it together. Where do we start?"

At any time the child began to read with the examiner's assistance, he or she was also encouraged to take over the reading independently.

Sessions were videotaped and audiotaped and were subsequently transcribed first from audiotape and then expanded from videotape. The initial transcriptions were checked by a third researcher for completeness and accuracy and were continually checked during the analyses.

Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted by viewing the videotapes and making a tentative placement of each child's performance in the categories of the "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks," hereafter called the scale. Any problems with quality of the tapes, application of procedures, and with the scale description were discussed and, when necessary, the tapes were reviewed and transcripts checked. Scores of 0-11 were assigned to the categories.

After the second study was completed, a training videotape was

developed and tested with fifteen people, including graduate and undergraduate students in a seminar on emergent literacy and the research team. Two research assistants were trained to a high agreement level of scoring and writing narrative justifications. Data from two large scale studies and the case studies were independently scored both from videotape and from transcripts. Since agreement was quite high between the two modes of scoring (.99, .94, .96, .98 for four sessions), transcript scoring was used for the remaining two large-scale studies; however, these data had previously been scored from videotape as well and the training tape had come from one of those studies.

For each large-scale study all children's performances on the two storybooks were compared using correlational analyses. Children participating in more than one study were compared using t-tests for related measures. Case study children's performances across time were graphed and compared with selected children taking part in three to four large scale studies.

Finally, descriptive analysis was applied to selected features relating to the theoretical considerations underlying the project. Of particular interest were the ways children show distinctions between oral and written language and the ways children perform when they do not attempt to read independently but respond to assistance from the adult.

The Studies

Study I. Study I was conducted in January 1982 with a total of

22 children (12 girls, 10 boys). One girl had just had her fifth birthday but was moving to a different school district. The remaining 21 children ranged in age from 2-10 to 4-10 (median 3-10). The children's teachers selected ten storybooks that the children had requested to be read repeatedly but that were not currently active. These books were re-activated for a two week period. The teachers read the books at storytime, had them available during free time and the time structured for individual storybook reading, and kept records of how many times each book was requested.

At the end of the two-week period the books were removed and the interview sessions were begun. All ten books were displayed on a table in the interview room and children selected two favorites to "read to Snoopy" and the examiner.

Study II. Study II was conducted in May 1982. It forms a unit with Study III and is the basis of the dissertation study of Beverly Otto (see Otto, in press, for a preliminary report).[1] Twenty-five children were included, two of whom (a girl and a boy, each aged 5-1) was moved to the next class. The remaining 24 included 12 boys and 12 girls (median age 4-1, range 2-8 to 4-8). Ten books were selected, including a number that had been used in previous studies, to be introduced to the classroom. Teachers again kept records on the frequency of children's requests and the most frequently requested books was used with all children. Children selected a second book as their individual favorite. The group favorite was read as the second book by all children.

Study III. The procedures were identical to those of Study III, except that half of the children read the group favorite first and half read it second. The study was conducted in August and 17 children were present, a large decrease due to summer vacations. The fifteen in the regular classroom ranged in age from 2-10 to 4-7, median 3-9. The two children who had moved to the older classroom were now both 5-3 for a total of 7 boys and 10 girls.

Study IV. For this study, the parents were asked to send two of the children's favorite storybooks from home. In the letter making this request, the term "favorite storybook" was left vague, although the parents had been informed that the total project focused on storybooks that children particularly liked. The one specification was that the books had to have been favorites for at least two weeks prior to sending them to school. The book texts were either photocopied or copies of the same edition were purchased.

Parents' response to this request was enthusiastic. Data collection was staggered over a four week period in November 1982. A few children were away on vacations during this time as well. The total of 21 children (9 boys and 12 girls) included three children who were now in the older classroom. In addition to the boy and girl who were now 5-7, a third boy had become 5-1. The remaining 17 ranged in age from 2-10 to 4-10 with a median age of 4-5.

Case studies. Four children were selected for case study. Each child was seen monthly for eleven sessions over a year from November 1981 to November 1982; data were not collected in the month of September due to staffing problems. The original children selected included two boys and two girls, with a boy and girl each of low income and of middle income families. The low income boy was hispanic and the other children were white; unfortunately, the boy was absent for the first session and moved shortly thereafter. He was replaced with a white low income boy about whose progress the teachers were concerned.

The final selection of case study children and their ages in November 1981 were Joleen, 4-7, low income; Matt, 4-7, low income; Nicki, 2-11, middle income; and Timmy, 3-9, middle income. The teachers were asked their impressions of each child's interest in reading and writing. Matt was described as "having problems" in general; the two girls were described as being highly interested in books, with Joleen also showing interest in writing; Timmy was described as being an active child with no particular interest in reading or writing. The children are described in more detail as part of the findings.

Parent interviews. The parents were interviewed following Study IV. This interview was not part of the originally planned research and comprised the master's thesis of Fay Robinson.[2] Parents were asked questions specifically focusing on the behaviors of their children with "favorite storybooks." The questions were aimed at validating the operating definition of "favorite storybook" drawn from anecdotal reports in the literature.

Findings

Stability of Storybook Reading Behaviors

The results of each study were analyzed to address the question of whether children perform the same way across storybooks or whether different storybooks are more conducive to what is called "emergent reading ability." The results indicate that the behavior is quite stable. For these analyses, the full number of children were used for each study (22, 25, 17, and 21, respectively). The correlation between storybook one and storybook two for Study I was .92; for Study II, .76; for Study III, .93; and for Study IV, .99. The data for Study II were analyzed in more detail to try to explain the lower (although significant) correlation. Examination of the data revealed four children who refused to attempt to read the first book independently but made a relatively high score on the second book (4, 5, 6, and 7). All other refusals in which a refusal was paired with an attempt had ranged from 2 to 3. Study II's structure was also a problem, because all of the children read the group favorite as their second book. Removing the four children with suspiciously high second scores from the Study II data resulted in a correlation of .94, quite consistent with the results of the other three studies. Hence, it can be concluded that children tend to perform consistently across storybooks, so long as those books are indeed familiar.

Further examination of children's scores across studies revealed that no children fluctuated so widely as did the four children removed from the Study II analysis above. Children tended to show a

slowly increasing pattern overall with some children showing more variation than others. This pattern is discussed further below.

"Refusals"

There are two types of refusal, those in which the child does not give a clear reason for refusing to attempt the book independently (scored zero) and those in which the child gives a clear statement that he or she cannot yet read based on specific grounds relating to print (scored eight). Haussler (personal communication) also reports two levels of refusal but Rossman (1979) reports refusals "occurring at every transitional point of children's reading of storybooks" (p.11). Haussler's and Rossman's sample size included eight and five children, respectively.

In the current study, children were given a score of zero for a number of reasons. Children did not completely refuse to respond; the closest behavior that could be called not responding was that of a very young child who only nodded her head at points in the story and to the examiner's questions. Other children who were scored as refusing typically responded to the encouragements and echoed the examiner's reading, filled in pauses with sentence or section completion, interacted conversationally about the book, or paged through the book silently, carefully examining the pictures. Beverly Otto is analyzing the relation of the "refusals" and/or dependent readings as part of her doctoral dissertation.

One general finding was that refusals were found more often with younger children, more often in Study I and II, and were typically

given for both books. Besides the four children in Study II discussed above, only five children attempted one book but not the other. Those children scored either two or three; the refusals varied by book with two refusing to try the first book and three refusing on the second. Refusals were spread over children, with 15 children refusing at one time or another from the total of 32 involved in all studies.

The kind of pattern that Rossman (1979) reported was not clearly detected. In fact, only five children showed a score of zero close in time with a high score. These included the four children removed from the Study II analysis and one other child. The pattern was seen only in Study II for the four children. The fifth child earned scores of eight and five in Study II and zero's in Study III. Unfortunately, he was only enrolled during those two studies. Since we have so much more data that belies Rossman's claim, I believe the explanation can be found in slightly differing methods of eliciting and scoring the reading attempts.

Developmental Patterns

Children do increase in emergent reading behaviors over time and with increased age. Table 1 shows the percentage of re-enactments at different levels by age. Data from a previous study with kindergarteners is also included in order that the developmental patterns can be seen more clearly.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 1

Percentage of Reading Attempts at Increasing Levels of Sophistication by Age

Age	Number of Attempts	Refusals or Dependent Attempts	Stories Not Formed	Oral Language-like	Written Language From Pictures	Governed by Print
Two's*	24	42	21	33	4	0
Three's*	60	35	6	22	28	8
Four's*	72	19	8	15	32	25
Five's** (November)	24	17	17	21	25	21
Five's** (May)	24	8	0	21	30	42***

*Data from the current study. Two's consist of children up through age 3-2, a natural break point in the age distribution. Four's consist only of children between 4-0 and 4-11. Two attempts were taken per session.

**Data from Sulzby (1982); reading attempts were taken at the beginning and end of the kindergarten year with the same subjects.

***Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

These results paired with the descriptive analysis of the children's low-level refusals indicates that these responses are probably valid in nature rather than being based on extraneously factors like lack of rapport. However, the children were enticed into some kind of response like echoing or interacting conversationally. Future research needs to combine reading collections in which the child is asked to read independently and collections in which the adult interacts like a parent does with a child.

The kindergarten data included in Table 1 come from Sulzby (1982b). In that study, kindergarten children who were not being taught to read in school were found to increase in emergent reading ability with storybooks over a six-month interval.

Only eight children were present for all eight studies; however, 16 were present for both Study I and IV, conducted ten months apart. Children increased in emergent reading ability level over that period at a significant level, $\underline{t}(15) = 3.58$, $p < .005$ (one-tailed). Since those 16 children had varying numbers of sessions, however, those findings might contain effects of varying amounts of practice.

Studies I and II were separately by almost four months and 15 children were present for both. The children's emergent reading ability also increased significantly during that brief period, $\underline{t}(14) = 2.19$, $p < .025$ (one-tailed). This analysis still contained the five children who had been seen once previously (four case study children and a hispanic girl tentatively considered for case study). The increase by the remaining ten children was also statistically significant, $\underline{t}(9) = 2.63$, $p < .025$ (one-tailed).

Scale Categories

The preceding analyses indicate that the "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks," or "the scale," can be applied reliably by trained judges and that it can be used to order children's progressing movement toward independent reading. In this section, I examine the categories of the scale in light what we have learned about younger children's attempts to read storybooks. Figure 1 displays the eleven categories of the scale as a tree structure that is successively branching, but omits the branches representing some of the subcategories. It should be noted that most studies of reading begin where this study ends, with "independent" or conventional reading, the branch in the bottom right corner.

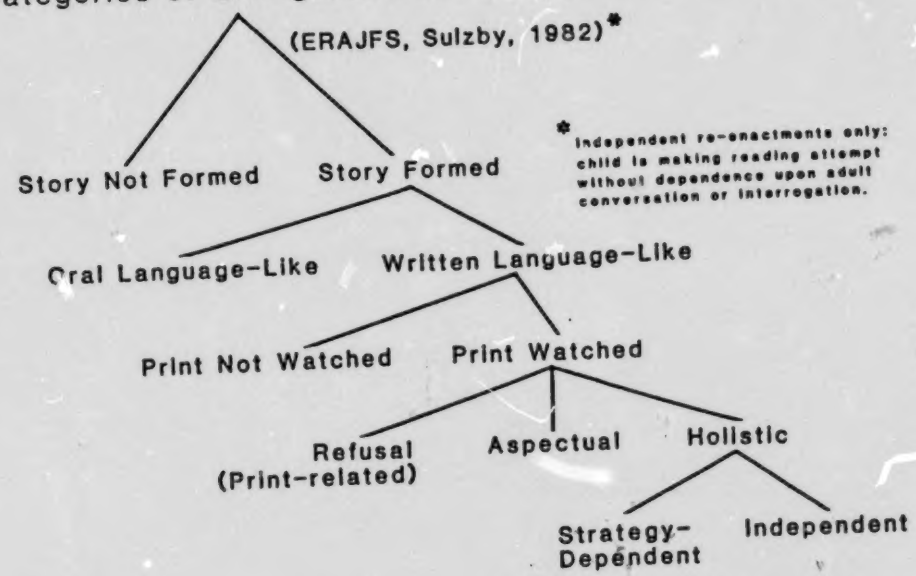
Insert Figure 1 about here

Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Not Formed

We will begin with the least mature attempts, the lowest branch on the tree and examine the subcategories in detail. In Figure 2 those branches, (1) labelling and commenting and (2) action-governed behavior, are foregrounded. These two categories were found rarely with kindergarten children, but are more prominent with the younger children. The primary characteristic of these attempts is that the child addresses speech to each page as a discrete unit, not weaving a story over the entire book. If one listens to the speech of the child alone, one would not be able to infer a story. The language is not

Figure 1

Categories of Emergent Reading of Favorite Storybooks



**The 1982 version contains eleven levels plus a low-level of refusal; these are numbered for ease of reading but there in no implication that no other levels exist; indeed, it is believed that there are lower levels with infants and toddlers.

tied together sufficiently for an audience to understand.

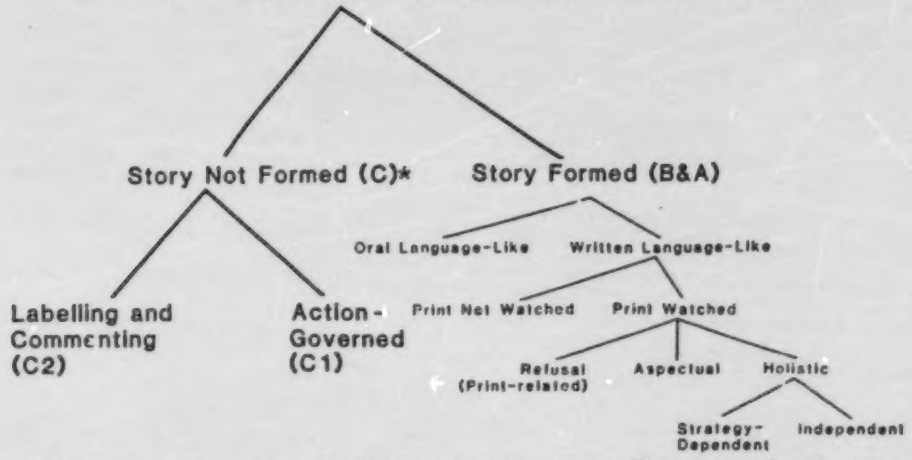
Insert Figure 2 about here

Level one, labelling and commenting. When a child reads or re-enacts a book through labelling, the child will turn to a page, point to a pictured object, and then give its name: "Doggie," "Horse," "Snort, " "Dog and cat." Commenting is giving information about the labelled or highlighted item: "Brush him teefs," "Go to bed," or even a fuller sentence, "He's a monster." We found that younger children who label and comment often accompany the speech with large gestures, pointings, or slaps at the page. Nicki often stood up, gazing down her arm at the pictured object, naming it, then turning dramatically to look full in the face of the examiner with glee or amazement.

The language used in these attempts is distinctive because it is markedly less mature than the child's normal usage. It appears to be a routine devised for book-reading, probably learned from parent-child interactions. Bruner (1978) and Ninio (1980; Ninio & Bruner, 1978) described interactions between mothers and children in which early reading is seen to be a structured dialogue. They describe this dialogue as a scaffolding in which the mother takes the child's slightest reaction as a interactional turn; the mother then builds upon the child's turn by responding and calling for another turn from the child. When the child begins to take part through linguistic

Figure 2

Children's Emergent Reading Levels With
Favorite Storybooks, Highlighting "Stories Not Formed"



*Letters refer to written explanation of "Children's Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks." C1 is also referred to as level one and C2 as level two, without implying that there are no other low levels.

devices that appear to be words or short phrases, the mother raises the expectations and demands more speech from the child.

For middle-class mother-child dyads, Ninio found that the speech seems to be tailored toward isolating the central feature in a picture, labelling it, and then adding relevant detail. The labelling and commenting category of the emergent reading scale appears to be the remnant of such previously-interactive behavior. Bruner (1978) gives an example of this kind of storybook interaction. The mother uses a vocative matched with a query; the child labels; and then the mother contributes the relevant comment.

Mother: "Look."

"What's that?"

Child: "Fishy."

Mother: "Yes, and see him swimming."

Here is an example from Nicki in which she uses fuller sentences from time to time. She remembers some information from the story she has heard read but she does not use it to weave a story. The example comes from The Bear Detectives.

Child: There's the balloons man. (Points to picture on title page.)

There's those missing pumpkin. Pumpkin. (Pointing to pictures on pages two and three.)

That's the sun. (Pointing to picture on page four.)

The tour and the bog.

And that's Snuff. (Pointing to dog on page seven.)

Hmm. This is, this is book. (Page 10)

This is cow. (Page 12)

Nicki's uses both genture and language ("there's," "that's," "this is," or simply the label without article, "cow") to point or indicate to the adult what she is attending to. She seems to have incorporated the adult's query into the child's response. In data from kindergarteners, I observed a child to insert the framing question herself, addressed to the examiner, and then to answer it herself.

Child: A cooker. (pause) The children. The mother. (Turns page) The king. What's that?

Adult: I don't know. What does it look like?

Child: (Laughs) Boys. Lots of boys. Girls. Cooker.

Ninio (1980) argues that being able to identify a central focus before adding peripheral information is important in language/concept development. However, treating a picture as a static, present image for labelling and commenting does not carry the child beyond the present into the world of story in which past, present, and future are intricately intertwined. The next category, action-governed behavior, seems to move the children toward such a change-oriented attitude toward books.

Level two, Action-governed behavior. Children who give this kind of reading attempt act as if the action in the picture is now occurring. Again, they do not weave a story over the book but talk about each picture as a discrete unit. Their speech is again

distinctive from their ordinary conversational speech. Speech is typically paired with an indicating finger which appears to trace action in the picture: "See, there he goes. He's gonna catch him. But he don't see him." The verbs used are typically present tense, present progressive, or odd uses like "gonna" which appears to characterize action solely in the picture being viewed.

The child's behavior toward the adult audience is similar to the labelling and commenting behavior. The child looks from the book to the adult. It seems that there are more attempts to be sure the adult is focusing attention to what the child is. These re-enactments often include directing words like "lookit."

When the younger children give an action-governed reading attempt, they often stand up and gesture from the picture off the book into some imaginary space, sometimes making motions for the story characters. Similar to Vygotsky's (1978) description of very early drawing/writing, these children treat gesture, picture, and speech as intertwined. The children often accompany their re-enactments by "sound effects" made by the child verbally, "Pow!" or "Krrr," or physically, with banging and rubbing the page. Our case study child Matt often picked the book up as if to make the characters perform an action, "He's gonna get you!"

Action-governed re-enactments seem to contain the notions of past, present, and future in an embryonic way in relation to book reading. These readings are being done by children who understand and represent past, present, and future in their ordinary conversation but

use a different kind of speech for books. Children occasionally include both labelling and commenting and action-governed language in the same re-enactment. When they move to action-governed language, the notion of the picture/page as a bounded entity may begin to come in conflict; the child is beginning to use language that has more potential for weaving a story over the pages.

At age 2-10 Patrick gave an action-governed re-enactment to the storybook he had selected, A Pocket for Corduroy (Freeman, 1978). He begins making comments about his stuffed bear and the bear in the book.

Child: The bear is in the cage. (Referring to the book.)
Look. (Touching the stuffed bear)
This one is not in a cage.

Adult: Um-hmm.

Child: A red bow. (Touches stuffed bear's bow and turns to page 30.)
Kissing him. See? (About pictured action.)

Adult: Is she?

Child: She's putting him, putting him to bed.
She's going to /hit/ his bed. (Turns to page 10.)
Looky him. Look at him.

As Patrick's attention left his stuffed bear and became directed at the book alone, he began to use progressive tenses (kissing, putting, "going to hit"). He then asserted four times that there was a monster in the book, then continued with language governed by his

perception of action in the pictures.

Child: He's running, (pause) he's running, he's running!
(Turns to page 30)
Um. He's kissing him, he's snuggling him, the monster, he's kissing. The end.

In the next example, Denise (3-10) is re-enacting Are You My Mother? (Eastman, 1960). This book was chosen as the favorite by the children in Study II and is used for many examples that follow. The book appears to have special significance for many children and has been used in other storybook reading discussions (Holdaway, 1979, gives a number of examples using this book). Denise's re-enactment was the only one at level two for this book and it contains some indications of trying to refer to the fuller story. Many of her verbs are past tense but the language is directed at each page discretely and primarily focuses on the actions portrayed. (In later examples, the book text is set in parallel with the child's speech.)

Denise read Are You My Mother? following another book in which she had also used action-governed speech. With both books, she went through the pages primarily backwards, recycling some pages. She began Are You My Mother? on page 44.

Child: Look it. He went back to the rocks.
(Finger pointing with motion across the page.
Turns to page 38.)
Look it. It broke all over. Look it.
(Looks at adult.)

Adult: Yeah.

Child: It broke.

Adult: It looks broken.

Child: Yeah. (Pause)

Go see the, the--that little baby has to run

and get that junk outa there, outa the rocks.

(Looks at adult) He can't reach 'em.

He's not strong enough to reach that.

(Pointing from the bird to the rocks and finally

to a car; each point includes a rubbing motion

and a look at the adult.)

(Adult adjusts chair and child turns to page 20.)

Child: Look it. The baby bird had a (indecipherable).

A snake. (Bird is eating a worm.)

(Aside: Robins eat worms in the grass.)

Adult: Do they?

Child: Yeah. (Closes book then turns to blank end pages.)

He's all gone. See? He's all gone.

When adult asked Denise to continue she answered, "I'm all done." Children at both of the "story not formed" levels often read through the book by skipping pages, reading backward, or varying orders, including recycling parts. It is intriguing that the children produce these behaviors with books that we know are familiar, including books identified by their parents as favorites.

Nevertheless, in the data from the current study, levels one and

two were concentrated in the two-year-olds, practically disappearing with the three and four-year-olds. The kindergarten data used for comparison in Table 1 was from a study (Sulzby, 1981) in which five-year-olds selected their own favorite books from the kindergarten classroom. In the fall a larger percentage of kindergarteners gave level one and two re-enactments than did the three and four-year-olds in the day care center. This may be due to sampling differences, although that is doubtful. It is possible that the five-year-olds, particularly the ones with lower emergent reading ability, did not select books that were as familiar as the books in the current study were for our younger children.

As we move into the oral language-like attempts, the kind of language used in the less mature categories often appears sporadically in the lower attempts. Now, though, the child clearly weaves a story.

Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Formed: Oral Language-like

When children begin to treat the book as if it contains a whole story they can either use language more like their typical oral conversational or narrative speech or they can attempt to use language that is like that found in books. I use the terms oral language-like and written language-like to indicate that the speech used by these children still seems to be a speech register for storybook "reading."

The attempts that are oral language-like can be divided into two categories, highlighted in Figure 3. While both are present and are expected theoretically, they appear in inequal distributions with the lower level far more frequent than the higher level. As I explain in

more detail later, children who are reared in a culture strongly affected by literacy may never give a complete oral monologue for a storybook but may move into the use of written language-like speech very quickly. Our speech delivered orally has begun to sound like written language.

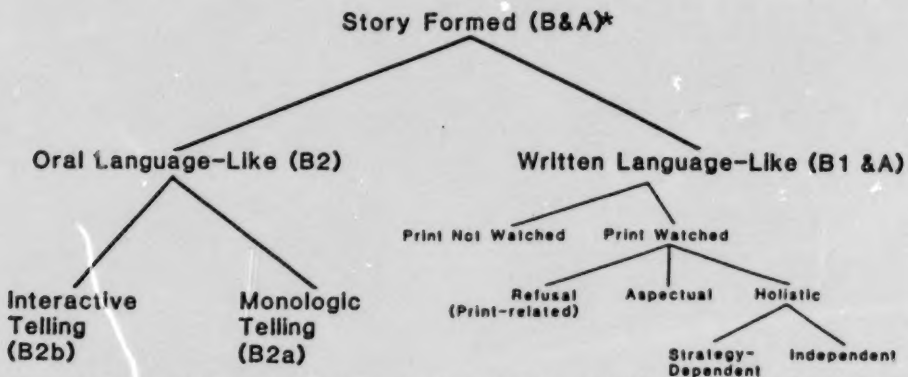
Insert Figure 3 about here

Level three, Interactive telling. This level is a conglomerate category containing a number of characteristics more suited to oral than written discourse. I have also called it by the unwieldly title, "Disconnected oral dramatic dialogue and/or interactive conversational comments," which captures some of the composite nature of what children do as they begin to weave a story over the book.

In level three the child may give dialogue for characters in pictures but the dialogue will rarely have dialogue carriers or narrative ties. Instead, the child tends to depend on techniques appropriate to oral language like creating "voices" for the dialogue. While this is an oral technique, again it may have been modelled for the child by the parent. I recently witnessed a parent "reading" Three Billy Goats Gruff to her child with distinctive character voices for the four characters. While the story had dialogue carriers and narrative exposition, the voices were the salient features that the 21-month-old was later heard re-enacting.

Figure 3

Children's Emergent Reading Levels With
Favorite Storybooks, Highlighting "Oral Language-like Stories"



*Letters refer to written explanation of "Children's Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks." B2b is also referred to as level three and B2a as level four, without implying that there are no other low levels with infants and toddlers.

Children may interact conversationally with an adult listener, either looking at the adult or at the book. The child's prosody is conversational and the wording tends to be highly contextualized, usually tied to the context of the pictures.

Children may also insert unclearly signalled comments to the listener. Whereas in lower reading attempts, the child would tend to turn directly to the adult to address him or her, occasionally now the child may continue to look at the book and make a comment that is out of place as a piece of a supposedly autonomous story. The comments lack clear signals to differentiate them from other parts of the speech, signals which would be present in more advanced reading attempts.

In spite of all of these features, children's reading attempts at this level do show some awareness of audience needs. An odd mixture of present, present progressive, and past tense verb forms may add to the impression that the re-enactment is disjointed. Nonetheless the child creates some indication of past and future and overall conveys a story-like sequence.

Nicki (3-6) showed a number of these behaviors in reading Are You My Mother? In the beginning of her re-enactment, she used the exact words of one page of text but in the tone of a conversational exchange. On the next pages, she seems to continues the sentence but connections are missing. During this sequence she is turning to face the adult, giving another signal that her speech is conversational. Finally, her statement on page 7, "They're going to get a worm," is

bound to the context of the story but is not decontextualized for the listener.

Page	Text	Child
3	A MOTHER BIRD SAT ON HER EGG.	
4	THE EGG JUMPED.	/nɒ/ the egg jumped. (Points to picture and looks at adult.)
5	"OH OH!" SAID THE MOTHER BIRD. "MY BABY WILL BE HERE! HE WILL WANT TO EAT."	
6	"I MUST GET SOMETHING FOR MY BABY BIRD TO EAT!" SHE SAID. "I WILL BE BACK!"	And flied away. (Looks at adult, then points to picture.)
7	SO AWAY SHE WENT.	They're going to get a worm. (Spoken looking directly at adult, who replied, "Oh, really?")

Typically Nicki looked at the two facing pages and spoke only when looking at the right-hand page, although occasionally she spoke when looking at the left-hand page. She used speech for both pages only once. Typically, her contextually-bound speech resulted in her using pronouns inappropriately for written language. As the baby bird went to a kitten, a hen, and a dog to ask if each were his missing mother whom he had never seen, Nicki called each one "he." This usage

is appropriate to oral language, of course, and to the fact that the adult can see the pictures. Finally, when the baby bird comes to a cow, Nicky identifies the creature, "And she's a cow!" Her emphasis on cow seemed to "labelling" behavior rather than decontextualization in a written language sense.

Nicki's gestures are large, sweeping across pages or indicating her meaning. She described the baby bird's ride in a steam shovel as, "Then he went up, up, up," with gestures for each up. When she thought the bird would fall, she gave a sweeping motion with, "Then he, he, almost, he's falling down," with speech reminiscent of the action-governed category.

Are You My Mother? is filled with repetitive patterns which children begin to repeat. The ending seems particularly memorable yet Nicki omitted it in contrast with children at higher levels like Paul in the next section.

Level four, Monologic telling. The more advanced level of oral language-like reading attempt is a complete story, delivered in storytelling intonation (in contrast with reading intonation). The story is context-dependent, assuming that both the child "reader" and the adult can see the pictures in the book. Syntax and specific phrases sound like a told story; however, the story is basically monologic in nature. The stories contain many of the surface features of oral informal speech, like conjoining sentences with and or and then, seemingly fragmented ideas, and personal involvement with the audience (Chafe, 1982).

This category has few examples, perhaps because children who live in a highly literate society quickly learn the relevant features of written language. Such children might be able to give an oral monologue in a storytelling setting but not in a reading setting.

Second, the examples are difficult to judge from the printed transcript without numerous written explanations of what can be heard and seen on the videotape. With the younger children, in particular, immature speech patterns often give a more disjointed appearance when transcribed than when the reading attempt was face-to-face.

The clearest example in my data comes from the kindergarten study discussed earlier (Sulzby, 1982b). Don re-enacts Henry Explores the Mountains by Taylor (1975). The protagonist, a boy named Henry, was never introduced and his dog, Angus, was only identified in direct speech in which the child makes an interactive remark to the adult. I give the first part of the re-enactment here and the full transcript is included as example 4 of "Children's Emergent Reading of Favorite Storybooks: A Developmental Study" Sulzby (Note 1).

Child: This is his house and he is going to sleep. He was reading a book. And he was going to bed and then after he was reading the book he saw pictures of the mountains up here. Here (pause) there's some pictures, here, and then he thought he going exploring the mountains, he's going to, oh yeah, about the mountains and he thought I'm going to explore the mountains tomorrow. And then he asked his daddy--I think I

missed some pages here (turns pages back). No. Then he was asking his daddy, exploring, then he got again, he ate his breakfast and then after he was finished he maked his bed. Then he got out of his gate and he saw the mailman coming on the street. And then he went (pause) and then he went (indecipherable word) and then he said to him (pause) Angus, Angus (referring to the dog, not the mailman) cause that's his name. I know. After this we're gonna come to the mountains (pause) and then he got one of his, and then he stuck on flag in there and then this is gonna be his tree. And then they were by the mountain (pause) and then, hum, I think I missed some here. I'll have to look this book again (turns pages back) to start again here.

Don continued all the way through the book, giving a very full story, understandable to the adult listener. When he finished, he gave an orally-appropriate comment, "And then it's finished," rather than the kinds of formal conclusions, "The End," intoned by children giving written language-like re-enactments.

In the current study, Paul (3-10) gave a level four re-enactment of Are You My Mother? At the beginning of the book, he starts speaking while looking at the front cover.

Child: Man. He sees his mother. (Turns to page 3.)

Then she sat on an egg. (Turns to page 4.)

See, it, uhm, cracked a little bit.

Crackei li'l bit. (Turns to page 6)

Adult: Did it? (Paul's intonation did not call for a response and he ignored the adult's question.)

Child: Then she flied, get some worms.

Later in the book, there is a recapitulation of all the animals that the baby bird met. Paul's speech is specific but his intonation and word choices are characteristic of oral language.

Page	Text	Child
30	THE KITTEN WAS NOT HIS MOTHER. THE HEN WAS NOT HIS MOTHER. THE DOG WAS NOT HIS MOTHER.	H-he came, h-he met to a c-ca, a kitty-cat, and he met to a hen, he met to a dog, and now there were NONE. (Turns to pages 32-33.)
31	SO THE BABY BIRD WENT ON. NOW HE CAME TO A COW.	
32	"ARE YOU MY MOTHER?" HE SAID TO THE COW.	Now, now he met a cow. (Cow said with drawn-out emphasis; turns to pages 34-35.)
33	"HOW COULD I BE YOUR MOTHER?" SAID THE COW. I AM A COW."	

34 THE KITTEN AND THE HEN
WERE NOT HIS MOTHER.

Then he met a cat and a hen and a dog and a cow. (Cow again said very drawn-out.)

THE DOG AND THE COW
WERE NOT HIS MOTHER.

At the conclusion of the book a friendly steam shovel, called a Snort, puts the baby bird back in its nest where the mother bird has returned with a worm. The conclusions recapitulates the animals again with the baby bird naming all the animals the mother bird is not. Paul concludes with an oral language rhetorical question, "Know what?" which serves the interpersonal function of contact with the adult audience.

Child: Know what? The, the Snort put the baby right back
in the, in the tree.
Know what he said? You're not a kitten or a hen
or a, or-r cow, or a (pause) car (pause)
and you're not, you're not a Snort
and you are my MO-ther!

Two of the children who gave oral monologic re-enactments are case study children. Joleen fell below her typical performance marked by written language level patterns once in July, two months after she changed classrooms and was absent for a prolonged period. Timmy gave three level four re-enactments spaced through the middle of the year. Timmy is the one child for whom I think there is evidence that he passed through level four on his way to beginning to insert features

of written language. His final and highest level was level five, with a mix of oral and written language. Timmy was also a child who seemed to have little interest in books except when they were about animals.

My conclusion from both the kindergarten and the current study is that level four exists and that it would be more prominent in cultures with a strong storytelling tradition and little exposure to literacy. We need research eliciting both told and read stories from the same children within and across cultures that differ in literacy backgrounds.

There is one other possibility; our description and scoring procedures may have over-categorized children into level three. It is clear that within level three there are re-enactments with only the slightest hint of a story structure and there are re-enactments that are much fuller. We need more clear cases of level four to compare with the existing data in order to decide if this is the case.

Attempts Governed by Pictures, Stories Formed: Written Language-Like

As we move into instances in which children use written language characteristics in attempting to read storybooks, the data seem to fall into three categories. The first is a kind of transition between oral and written language. The other two come very close to being a re-statement of the actual text, differing in how close they are to being verbatim or showing an attempt to retrieve the verbatim text. Figure 4 highlights these three categories under the heading "print not watched," to distinguish it from the other types of written

language-like attempts in which the child does signal that the print is the source of the story.

Insert Figure 4 about here

Level five, Mix of oral and written language. In this type of re-enactment, which I have also called "created story, written influence," the child inserts sections that sound like written language, either in intonation or in wording or both, into parts that continue to sound like oral language. The story created may depart from the actual story but it shows a clear sense of audience and contains major portions that are decontextualized. Jodi's (3-2) re-enactment of Are You My Mother? begins with an unsmooth shift between the language of the book (capitalized) and her own wording that includes oral intonation and some interactive speech.

Child: Where's my mother?

It's gonna go way up there and go up to there.

THE EGG JUMPED and jumped.

He cracked out.

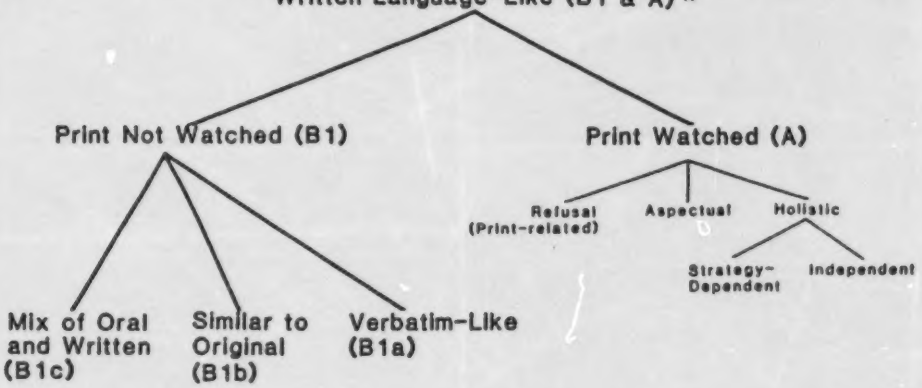
MY BABY BIRD WILL BE HERE anytime so he cracked out.

(Looking at adult.) Eggs don't jump, do they?

More typically, children do not quote sections of the book but they re-create them, using similar patterns. Later in the book, Jodi used this more typical behavior. On pages 14-16, she uses character voices without the dialogue carriers and represents the action of

Figure 4

Children's Emergent Reading Levels With Favorite Storybooks, Highlighting "Written Language-like Stories Governed by Pictures"



*Letters refer to written explanation of "Children's Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks." B1c is also referred to as level five, B1b as level six, and B1a as level seven, without implying that there are no other low levels with infants and toddlers.

falling with cries, forms appropriate to oral language. In contrast, for pages 30-31 she re-creates the list of animals almost verbatim with wasn't for was not. She also expands the language for page 31 by including text from pages 34 and 35. She turns that section into something even more written language-like than the actual text, self-correcting "he said to the cow," a written language form, to "baby bird said to the cow." But then she omits the dialogue carriers in the cow's response.

Page	Text	Child
14	"I WILL GO AND LOOK FOR HER," HE SAID.	I'm gonna go find her. (In a tiny character voice.) He gonna fall out of the tree.
15	SO AWAY HE WENT.	(Hits table.)
16	DOWN, OUT OF THE TREE HE WENT.	It was a long way down. (Elongated.) It was a long way down, EE-EE-EE-OW. Hey, he doesn't know how to fly, does he?
. . . .		
30	THE KITTEN WAS NOT HIS MOTHER.	The kitten wasn't his mother. (Points to kitten.)
	THE HEN WAS NOT HIS MOTHER.	The hen wasn't his mother. (Points to hen.)
	THE DOG WAS NOT HIS MOTHER.	The dog wasn't his mother. (points to dog.)

32	SO THE BABY BIRD WENT ON. NOW HE CAME TO A COW.	He came to a cow. (Two syllables indecipherable.) He said to the cow, "Cow, are you--" Baby bird said to the cow, "Are you my mother?" No, I'm not your mother. I am a cow.

Dialogue carriers are important ways of making written language clear. In Are You My Mother? the dialogue carriers are often after the dialogue, a characteristic that Chafe (1982) found to be more typical of written than oral language. Jodi moved the dialogue carriers in front of the dialogue but she made it more specific than the text, changing he to baby bird.

Children giving written language-like reading attempts often insert these complex devices into text over-abundantly. Joleen (4-10) was clever at this. At the beginning of The Biggest Sandwich Ever, she used this sequence:

Child: Just me and Tammy. (Stated like a title.)
Then a man came around with a pot on his head.
And he said, "What a beautiful day. (Pause, turns page.) May I join you for lunch?"
said the man with a pot on his head. (Written language-like.)
And, "What a beautiful spot for a picnic,"
he said. (Turns page; indeterminate wording, reading-intonation.)

"Here, have a bite, have a carrot."

"Nope, I will have my--I will make my own lunch."

(Turns page without dialogue carriers which get inserted in attempt to create written language-like specification next.)

Then he shouted to someone,

"Bring in the cart."

At this point Joleen asked for the adult to read part of the text and she immediately moved the dialogue carrier into the post position.

Child: What's this say? (Points and looks at adult.)

Adult: "Ready."

Child: Ready. (Shift to expressive quoting voice.) "Bring in the cart!" he said to someone. (To adult.) Does that look like your favorite cart?

While I characterize children like Jodi (above) as using a mix of oral and written language characteristics when attempting to read, the texts that children read at this age are also only more or less adequately suited to written language conventions. Many times the words of the text are contextualized to the picture. Are You My Mother? typically over-specifies the speaker/hearer relationships as in the repeated sequences like, "Then he came to a dog. 'Are you my mother?' he said to the dog," with the dialogue carrier in the post position and including who spoke to whom. However, on page 52 the reader must assume who is speaking and to whom (the bird to himself).

Text: But now, where was the Snort going?

"Oh, oh, oh! What is this Snort going to do to me? Get me out of here!"

Notice the confusion of another child who used primarily written language (Brian, 4-8) with this section. In his attempt to insert dialogue carriers he makes it sound as if the Snort is speaking, yet the words are clearly those of the baby bird.

Child: He saw the big thing. "There she is, there she is. Hey." (Quotation appeared to end here and intonation shifted to exposition.)

And the big Snort (pause) said,

"Snort, you're not a--moth--

You're my--you're not my mother.

Get me out of here.!"

Billy (3-3) gives another example from the children who mix oral and written language. His re-enactment of Are You My Mother? varied from an almost verbatim rendition of the repetitive speech to the animals to a section in which he made up voices for the characters and omitted all dialogue carriers.

Page	Text	Child
57	"WHERE AM I?" SAID THE BABY BIRD. "I WANT TO GO HOME! I WANT MY MOTHER."	Hey, where am I? Where are you? I wanna go home! (Spoken in a high voice.)

For children at level five, the mixture of oral and written

language characteristics often results in their re-enactments seeming to be somewhat disorganized. Some of the re-enactments must be judged from the tape or annotated transcript in order to capture features of reading intonation. With children at higher levels like Joleen and Brian the over-adaptations to written language characteristics cause local but not overall confusion. In the next sections, we see how children re-enact stories when they use language almost totally suited to written language.

Level six, Similar to original. The child often creates patterns that are like those in the book or even in similar books; he may insert a "pattern of three" or repetitive language into a story that lends itself to such wording. Or the child may simply come close to the given story without showing the effort to retrieve the verbatim story (discussed in level seven). The child's language is decontextualized and the intonation is reading-like. In the following example, Megan (3-8) re-creates the section about the steam shovel which is never referred to by anything but Snort. Notice such book-like new language as, "And the shovel came to a stop."

Page	Text	Child
44	JUST THEN, THE BABY BIRD SAW A BIG THING. THIS MUST BE HIS MOTHER. "THERE SHE IS!" HE SAID. "THERE IS MY MOTHER!"	Now he came to a shovel. "Here I am, mother! Here I am, mother." (Turns to page 46.)
46	HE RAN RIGHT UP TO IT.	"What is the shovel gonna do to me?"

	"MOTHER, MOTHER! HERE I AM, MOTHER!" HE SAID TO THE BIG THING.	said the baby bird. (Turns to page 48.)
48	BUT THE BIG THING JUST SAID, "SNORT." "OH, YOU ARE NOT MY MOTHER," SAID THE BABY BIRD. "YOU ARE A SNORT. I HAVE TO GET OUT OF HERE!"	"Help, help! Get me out of here!" said the baby bird. (Direct quotations could be inferred easily from her intonation.) (Turns to page 50.)
50	BUT THE BABY BIRD COULD NOT GET AWAY. THE SNORT WENT UP.	And the shovel went up and up and up. (Flips page and then turns back.) And the shovel came to a stop.

Level seven, Verbatim-like attempts. In this highest level before the child is attempting to read from print, the child shows an awareness and partial memory for stretches of the text. Some children recite whole stories almost verbatim. Whether or not the child is successful at verbatim re-enactment for all of parts of the story, at this level the child shows self-correction behaviors that indicate that he is trying to retrieve the actual story rather than simply lacking fluency or using local monitoring of speech. This level of behavior has often been dismissed as "just memorized." The current research indicates that the child is not delivering a rote memorization; rather, the child is using strategic, effortful, conceptually-driven behaviors.

Brian (4-8), whom we met in the section discussing dialogue carriers above, had a hard time getting started on Are You My Mother? because he wanted to get the text just right. His intonation was reading-like and he sounded as if he were asking the adult to help him read print although he was looking at the pictures. The text page was, "A MOTHER BIRD SAT ON HER EGG."

Child: Um, the mother egg was sitting on her--(pause)
'Kay, I want you to help me. (Looks up, rubs chin.)

Adult: You're doing fine.

Child: I just want you to help me.

Adult: Okay.

Child: (Turns back to book.) A mother--bird was sitting on her egg.

Adult: Um-hm.

Child: (Looks at adult.) C'mon, help me to--

Adult: You did fine.

Child: 'Kay, I want you to help me.
How come you're not?

Brian dealt with his frustration well and completed the book. As he came to details that he did not remember immediately, he paused as if to retrieve the forgotten word or phrase. As in the example given earlier, Brian specifies the speaker/hearer relationship even more than the text did.

Child: "Are you my mother?" said (pause) um, said the bird to the (pause) hen.

Because he is trying so hard to retrieve the story as he thinks it should be, his ending sounds horribly disfluent.

Child: Do you know who I am? (Brief pause.)
Yes, I know who you are. (Pause, scratches head.)
You're not a cow, you're not a bird--
I mean--you're not a--a--not a kitten,
you're not a--um--hen, you're not a--um--dog,
you're not a--um--(indecipherable)
and you're my mother.

Martin (4-8) deals with the ending rather successfully but self-corrects to be sure to include the boat which he had already included. Starting a series again in the middle is quite difficult, yet Martin does it with grace and self-corrects his initial use of a contraction, "you're" to the more formal "you are" for the crucial ending, "You are my mother." He also adds the formal words for "The end," which are not part of this book.

Page	Text	Child
60b	"DO YOU KNOW WHO I AM?" SHE SAID TO HER BABY.	Do you know who I am? And he said (Turns to page 62.)
62	"YES, I KNOW WHO YOU ARE," SAID THE BABY BIRD.	You are not a kitten. (Pause.)
	"YOU ARE NOT A KITTEN.	You are not a kitten.
	"YOU ARE NOT A HEN.	You are not a hen.
	"YOU ARE NOT A DOG.	You're not a dog.

"YOU ARE NOT A COW.	You're not a cow.
"YOU ARE NOT A BOAT,	You're not a boat.
OR A PLANE, OR A SNORT!"	you're not--uh--I think I skipped
"YOU ARE A BIRD, AND	the boat. (Looks briefly back
YOU ARE MY MOTHER."	at prior page.)
	You're not a boat.
	You're not a cow.
	You're not a cow.
	You're not a boat.
	You're not a snort.
	And you are a bird,
	and you're--you are my mother. The end.

Children who give verbatim-like re-enactments pay some attention to print but not the kind of attention that children do in higher levels. They themselves act as if the pictures are read; if there is print in the picture, the child may read the print or comment on it. Joleen read "Sammy," shown on a picture of a chalkboard in a classroom in Sammy, the Seal. She read, after initially confusing them, the words cat and dog on blocks in a picture.

Another important way in which they attend to print, however, has to do with the central concept of this level, attempt to retrieve a text in verbatim fashion. They may seem to forget a section, stop, and ask the adult to read it to them. Now they indicate that it is print that is read but return to looking at the picture when they restate what the adult read.

At 4-11 Joleen selected The Big Orange Splot (Pinkwater, 1978) to re-enact. She had begun the book using reading intonation and written language wording. On page 10, she stopped and asked the adult, "What does all these words say?" The adult read the text and then Joleen re-enacted it, re-cycling phrases and clauses which I have capitalized for effect.

Text (as read by adult)	Child
OH MY, HE GOT SOME BLUE	Okay so he got red paint, yellow
PAINT AND SOME WHITE PAINT	paint and green paint and BLUE PAINT.
AND THAT NIGHT HE GOT BUSY.	AND then HE GOT--
HE PAINTED AT NIGHT	HE PAINTED it AT NIGHT
BECAUSE IT WAS COOLER.	BECAUSE IT WAS COOL--DER.
WHEN THE PAINT WAS GONE	THE PAINT WAS all GONE
THE ROOF WAS BLUE	
THE WALLS WERE WHITE	
AND THE BIG ORANGE SPLOT	AND THE BIG SPLOT
WAS STILL THERE.	WAS STILL THERE.
	So he got a--so he--red, green,
	no, yellow, green, and purple.
	(As she was saying the sequence of
	colors, she looked up from the book,
	and seemed to be concentrating
	deeply.)
	So that was the only house that was
	painted all different colors
	AND THE BIG ORANGE SPLOT WAS STILL THERE.

Joleen could have looked at the print had she thought it was a source for her to use directly. Evidently, in February she did not think this was possible. By October when she was 5-6, she treated the print in Jack and the Beanstalk as something she could use to check her predictions about what the story said and she pointed to print a number of times as if she were reading from it. Her re-enactment was thus scored at the level of attending to print, aspectual, with a focus on comprehension primarily and with some use of letter-sound relationships.

In summary, the three written language-like categories regularly increase across ages two, three, and four, while the two oral language-like categories decrease. In both the level six and level seven categories, the child's speech is worded like written language, is reading-like in intonation, and is decontextualized so that it can be understood without looking at the pictures. In contrast to the "stories not formed" levels (one and two) in which the child uses speech that is less mature than his or her ordinary usage, in these two written language-like categories, the child's speech sounds more complex and more formal than ordinary conversation or storytelling. These are the final two categories in which the child is acting as if the pictures are read. In the four categories that follow, the child is attending to print.

Attempts Governed By Print.

The child has made tremendous conceptual changes about reading from the levels of unexplained refusals and/or dependent re-enactment,

through storybook routines that do not weave a story over the book, through oral and written language attempts to read from the picture. In the four categories of "Governed by Print," the child makes even more conceptual changes before reaching the highest point, conventional or independent reading. Most examinations of reading only begin at the final point of this analysis; now we examine the levels directly preceding independence. Figure 5 shows these categories under the heading "Print Watched." It should be noted that none of the attempts at these levels were shown by two-year-olds and they appeared only scantily with the three-year-olds.

Insert Figure 5 about here

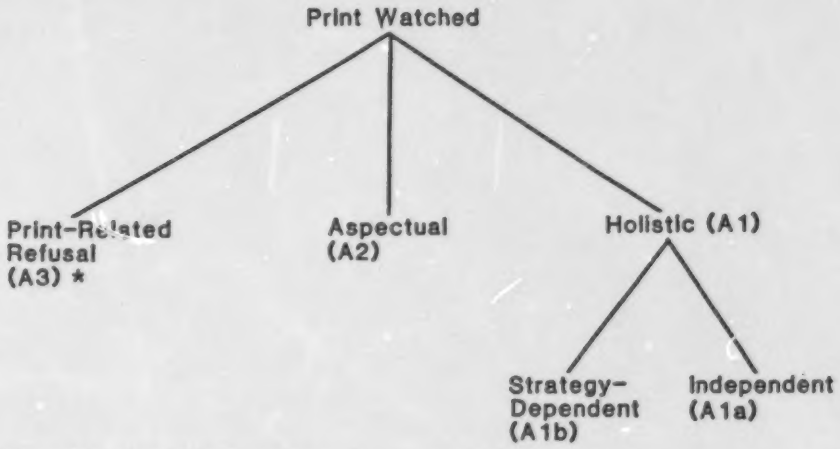
Level eight, Print-governed refusals. Often children begin to refuse to try to read as they learn more about the processes of reading, in particular as they learn that it is the print rather than the pictures that people read. These "refusals" are called high-level, print-related, or print-governed.

Print-governed refusals may be detected either by the child's explanation, a behavior more typical to five-year-olds, by the child's sudden refusal after high-level picture-governed re-enactments, or by the child's behavior during assisted reading. The last two behaviors are more typical for the three and four-year-old children in the current study.

Five-year-olds will explain why they cannot read: "I don't know

Figure 5

Children's Emergent Reading Levels With Favorite Storybooks, Highest Levels, "Governed by Print," Omitting Lower Levels



*Letters refer to written explanation of "Children's Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks." A3 is also referred to as level eight, A2 as level nine, Alb as level ten, and Ala as level eleven, without implying that there are no lower levels from very young children or that the "A" levels cannot be further subdivided.

the words," "I can't read yet--I need you to help me sound-out the words," "I can't really read--I was just pretending," (paired with a refusal), or "I can't read but I can tell it to you."

Two of the children in this study gave repeated high-level refusals. Brian refused at both 4-3 and 4-8. Each time he said he couldn't read and asked the examiner to help him. When she asked what she could do, he indicated the print. At 4-3, he said, "Help me read. This--numbers of these," indicating the print. (Using the terms numbers for letters or words is not unusual with young children.) He was even more specific at 4-8. After telling the examiner, "Oh, just help me read it," he told her where to start, "Um, this is where we should start." At that, he turned to the title page and ran his finger across the title: "Can you--try to help me read it?" His subsequent dependent re-enactment showed a high level of knowledge of the text and his second storybook for that session was the level seven re-enactment discussed earlier.

Rani refused for both Study I and IV and gave high level re-enactments for the one study she was present for in between. Her subsequent dependent re-enactments were also high level. She was quite adamant that she could not read and gave a verbal explanation like the five-year-olds for Study IV when she was 4-8.

Adult: Read this one to me and Pinky.

Child: I don't know this story.

Adult: Well, I don't either.

Child: Yes, you do.

Adult: I have never read it.

Child: Well, you can read it.

Adult: What would I do?

Child: Read this part. (Points to print on page 4.)

Adult: What's that?

Child: It's the words.

While Rani gave a verbal explanation that it is the words that are read, what she meant by not knowing the story was not probed directly. Evidently, "knowing" the story was tied to print as well because she gave a verbatim-like re-enactment of the story after refusing to attempt to read it. Her other independent attempts were verbatim-like and aspectual with an emphasis on memory for text.

Level nine, Aspectual attempts. Before children become independent readers but after they are attending to print, they often start to focus upon one or two aspects about print to the exclusion of other aspects. The major aspects are words, letter-sound relationships, and comprehension but they appear in rudimentary forms before independent reading. Comprehension, for instance, is displayed in storybook reading as memory for or re-creation of text. The child may have only a little knowledge in the aspect focused on at a given time or the child may focus on combinations either serially or in parallel. The child may focus on a few known words, a few letters and associated sounds, or upon the remembered text, but in all cases the child attempts to use print.

Here, as with the print-governed refusal, the child's "reading"

may seem to regress. The child who was reciting entire texts with reading intonation may stop attending to meaning and just receive the few words he can recognize on the page. A kindergartener (Sulzby, 1982b) recited: "Grandma, the, and, the, a, and," in various combinations for page after page while at this print-governed, aspectual level of emergent reading. Other children focus attention on sounding-out words; others upon memory for text; others upon combinations. The important identifying characteristic of this level is that the child "doesn't have it all together," in the way that he will in the levels that follow, called holistic attempts.

Instead, in aspectual attempts, the child seems to be practicing parts of the repertoire that will be put back together in conventional reading. From my previous research with kindergarteners (Sulzby, 1981, 1982b), I described the parts of this category as being variant across children and not sequenced developmentally. The current data raise some questions about this claim but do not constitute sufficient evidence to answer them firmly.

Kindergarteners furnish clear examples of children focusing on words or sounding-out in isolation from evidence of comprehension. All of the examples from the day care children come from five girls, three of whom clearly focus on memory for text. A fourth shows evidence of memory for text and the belief that specific print can and should be identified, although she does not yet know the words she asks the adult to identify. A fifth, Joleen, gave as her highest re-enactment a recitation of Jack and the Beanstalk in which she used

the print only sporadically but clearly in an attempt to confirm the speech she was using. Thus, in the instances in which the focus is on anything other than comprehension, the examples are not so clearcut as are those of kindergarteners. Also, the younger children typically gave refusals similar to the level eight refusal. In contrast with level eight children, though, they began to interact with the adult and to "read," clearly treating the print as what is read. Thus our judgments placing children into level nine are based on a richer reading of the context than was necessary with the kindergarteners.

Four of the five day care children had scores in other sessions that were consistent with a level nine performance. At 4-0, Kathy gave two level nine performances and by Study II she was clearly reading independently. All six of her subsequent storybooks were read independently, through Study IV. Her focus was on memory for text, as were the attempts of Karen (4-5) and Rani at 4-7.

Both Kathy and Karen recited the story while looking at the print and only occasionally pointing directly to it. Rani, on the other hand, gave a delightful performance, reciting words intended for the text and then pointing to the print, dragging her finger across it from the bottom line to the top line, sometimes going right to left.

When Joleen (5-6) attempted to read Jack in the Beanstalk, she pointed to the print occasionally, as if she were reading from it, in a manner similar to Rani's unmatched pointing. The storybook had a number of pages on which the print was spread out

graphically

over the page

like this.

She made up text that fit the story quite well without actually tracking the print, particularly embellishing the repetitive element. When Jack went to the beanstalk, Joleen said, ". . . he climbed, and he climbed, and he climbed, and he climbed, and he climbed, and he climbed." For the last three climbings, she pointed to the left hand text page three times with a diagonal slant across the print. Then she came to a page on which the text ends with the giant coming

THUMP

THUMP

THUMP.

Joleen continued her rendition.

Child: So he came to a brick road and Jack--(pause)
and it went on and on and on.
So Jack walked and walked. (Pause.)
That says walked and walked. (To adult while pointing to the "thump, thump, thump" display.)
But it has no /t/ at the end,
it has a /p/.
Ooo-oh, what does that say?
(Child points to sign on classroom door.)
That says another word up there.

Betsy (3-8) appeared to be investigating the roots of the idea that words are stable units and are written down in a stable representation. Her notions are very rudimentary but they may be important because she also tied them to labelling behavior, asking first what things in the pictures were called and then incorporating them into her speech while looking at the print. She began to attempt A Pocket for Corduroy (Freeman, 1978) on a page with a picture of a box of "Swan Flakes Soap Chips" at a laundrymat.

Child: I don't know what that's called. (Pointing to picture.)

Adult: Well, what do you think that is?

Child: Hmm. (Both study picture.)

Adult: Is that soap? (Child shakes head.) Snow? (A label other children in the classroom had used. Child shakes head slightly.)

Child: I don't think so.

Adult: Oh, well, just go ahead. Do the best you can.

Child: (Looks at adult while turning page.) I'll call it snow.

Adult: Okay, you can call it snow.

Child: Corduroy came to a box of snow. (Turns to pages 20-21.) Then he tipped over--(looks at page 21, points to text beginning) I don't know what this word is.

Adult: Oh (pause, child looks expectant but doesn't speak)

what (pause, with same child behavior)

fun (child smiles, turns page, and says, "What else?")

Betsy continued to "read" parts and ask the adult for help by pointing to text and saying, "I don't know what it says there." These requests for aid did not give her pieces of text that fit into her own re-creation of the text but she did not seem to notice. At one point she pointed at a section that the adult read as, "for Senorita." Then she pointed to the "senorita" part and asked the adult what it said.

But what do these examples mean? Similar examples have been interpreted as revealing children's cognitive confusion (Downing, 1979) about reading and written language. I suggest that these examples show the child's growth that has the surface appearance of confusion or regression. Before, the child was less specifically aware of the role of print; now, she knows a few more things about print and is working on figuring out more. These aspectual attempts can be treated as exploration of how print works and as a time of practice in which the reading process is temporarily dissected for closer examination.

Children who have built a fairly extensive knowledge of the wording of written language and the prosody used by readers now are integrating knowledge about a few words that they know conventionally, or a few letter-sound relationships that they are learning either conventionally or through invention, with their ability to predict the contents of a storybook.

The current data raise the question about whether the

comprehension-based aspectual focus precedes focusing on words and/or letter-sound relationships. Both theoretially and empirically, a case can be made that all three aspects are developing from infancy and require high level conceptualization from the child. However, this position is not a typical one for reading researchers until recently (see, for example, Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982).

In spite of the question about when each aspect begins and the level of reasoning required to develop each, there may nevertheless be a point after the child begins to attend to print in reading attempts in which comprehension focus precedes the other two aspects. The present data base from kindergarteners and day care children is not sufficient to answer the question but it does present evidence that what I am calling "aspectual" attempts do not appear early in development; instead, they appear after children can give a story with features of written language gazing at the picture.

The next two levels are closely related, both being called "holistic," to indicate that the child seems to be combining the relevent aspects of reading from print. The coordination of the aspects appears tenuous with level ten, still reflecting the aspectual tendency but less drastically, and in level eleven the aspects are fully coordinated into conventional, or independent reading.

Level ten, Strategy-dependent attempts. The strategy-dependent reader has coordinated the aspects of reading but not sufficiently for easy and independent reading. The child is dependent on strategies in a manner that lacks flexibility. As with aspectual reading, this

level may take many forms. The stragegy-dependent reader may tend to omit unknown words expressively and to substitute other "known words" from his or her reading repertoire. He may sound-out words excessively, often leaving "nonsense" words uncorrected. He may over-depend upon the predicted or remembered text rather than the written text. In all of these variations, the child will have some control over the neglected aspects but may show this control only sporadically.

Kindergarteners who have been placed at this level appear to be quite different from children who are reading independently. However, there were no instances of strategy-dependent reading with the younger children in the current study. The example that I give below is from a kindergartener, Tanya, who varies from a few stretches of reading in which she seems to be in coordinated control to stretches in which she depends excessively on the adult to tell her "what it says" or upon letter-sound cues that she uses with nonsense words.

Tanya, re-enactment of No Roses for Harry by Zion (1958)

In this re-enactment Tanya is reading from print. Her reading is classified as strategy-dependent because, while she can use information from letter-sound relationships, words that she knows, and monitoring her comprehension, she does not seem to have all of the aspects of reading in balance.

In the section below, she read the first page silently and then complained that it was too difficult. When encouraged to read just a little bit, she began with the second page. On the next two pages

shown here, she is highly dependent upon asking the examiner for words or upon a mix of sound-letter cues and "nonsense word" attempts which she rejects through asking the examiner, "What does this say?" On the third page, however, she holds the attempt together to re-enact without asking for aid. She allows her only miscue (dark for big) to stand without correction or adult help, a wise choice since it is syntactically and semantically appropriate and not necessary to further interpretation. The remainder of the re-enactment is similar. In spite of her disclaimer that she could only read a little bit, she read the entire book.

Child's Reading		Actual Text
Child:	(reads to herself)	Harry was a white dog with black spots. On his birthday, he got a present from Grandma. It was a woolen sweater with roses on it. Harry didn't like it the moment he saw it. He didn't like the roses.
Adult:	Read, read your book out loud to me.	
Child:	(groans) I can't read so many (pause) but little bit. When he--	
Adult:	(interrupts) OK, just read me a little bit. Read me what you can.	
Child:	When he, what's this they say?	When he tried it on, he felt cosy and snug. But he still didn't like the roses. He thought it was the silliest sweater he'd ever seen.
Adult:	Tried.	
Child:	When he tried it on, he flat? flat kersey, what's this say?	
Adult:	Cosy.	
Child:	Cosy and snug.	
Adult:	Uh-hmm.	
Child:	But he still didn't like the roses. He--he, what's that? (whispered)	
Adult:	Thought.	
Child:	Thought it was the slast, (pause)	
Adult:	silliest.	

Child's Reading		Actual Text
Child:	Silliest sweater he, he did, he'd ever seen.	
Adult:	Oh, that's good. Can you point to the words when you read them?	
Child:	Um-hmm.	
Adult:	OK.	
Child:	The next day when Harry went downtown with the children, he wore, wear hi, his new sweater. When purple?	The next day when Harry went downtown with the children; he wore his new sweater. When people saw it, they laughed. When dogs saw it, they barked. Harry made up his mind then and there to lose Grandma's present.
Adult:	People.	
Child:	people saw it, they liked?	
Adult:	They laughed.	
Child:	laughed. When dogs saw it, they braked? Harry met?	
Adult:	Made.	
Child:	made up his mend then and there to lo-lost Grandma's present.	
Adult:	(laughs)	When they went into a big store to shop, the children took off his sweater and let him carry it. This was just what Harry wanted.
Child:	When they went into a dark store to shop, the children took off his sweater and let him carry it. Thi, this was just what Harry (pause) wanted.	

Reading at this level also appears to be quite effortful. Tanya's completion of the entire book is impressive. Other kindergarteners stop, claiming fatigue, and either ask the examiner to read or put the book away.

If we accept the claim that aspectual attempts and strategy-dependent attempts precede and are different from independent reading, there are implications for research and instruction. Many children called "low readers," would not be called independent readers even in first, second, third grades. Longitudinal research has reported individual differences in children's focus during initial acquisition that may reflect these pre-independent levels (Amarel, 1977, 1981; Lesgold, Resnick, Roth, & Hammond, 1981). Harste and Burke (1977) report an effect of teacher's model (skills or word-focus, decoding or letter-sound focus, and whole-language or comprehension-focus) upon the child's strategies in oral reading; this effect may be bi-directional, an interaction between the child's developmental level and the teacher's focus. Classroom process research (Collins, 1981; Green, 1977; McDermott, 1976) has documented that teachers treat low readers differently from higher readers, putting a focus more upon reading as a non-integrated rather than integrated process. The current study with two, three, and four-year-olds documents that at least the aspectual focus can be found in younger children who are not receiving formal instruction, making the argument stronger that these patterns are developmental.

Level eleven, independent reading. Independent reading is what people think of conventionally as "reading." The child is reading the print independently of an adult, using comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and known words in a coordinated fashion to re-create the text. The child may not read "word perfectly," but will make

high-level miscues showing all aspects of independent reading. The independent reader will make self-corrections that show evidence of a wide and strategic use of knowledge about reading. The independent reader can be described as being both less text-bound and yet more accurate in reproducing both the wording and the intended meaning of the author. The child is in charge.

Some kindergarteners in my research (Sulzby, 1981, 1982b) have come to school reading and some others have begun to read prior to formal instruction. In the current study of day care children, only two children began to read independently during the study; neither was reading at the beginning of the study. Kathy, a white girl, began to read just before 4-4 and Martin, a hispanic boy, began to read just before 5-1. Unfortunately, we did not witness the transition for either child, in Kathy's case due to the interval between Study I and Study II, and in Martin's case due to his absence between Study II and IV.

Independent reading was not displayed dramatically by either Kathy or Martin. Both children read orally in low and rapid voices and the examiner had to watch closely to be certain they were using the print. Two casual experiments were conducted that relate to emergent reading.

Kathy had demonstrated in Study I that she could recite storybooks almost verbatim. During Study IV in which she brought two books from home, I asked her to play a game with me in which I would show her the pictures and she was to tell me what the text was. This was an attempt to see whether she was still using a verbatim-like

memory for the text or was using more cues from the print. Her attempts were qualitatively inferior to her performance in Study I and she asked to re-examine the print on each page, seeming to pick up more verbatim language each time. She did seem to have a notion that she should render the language of the book when she re-told it as well as when she read the pages.

This little experiment indicated that she was not just relying on "memorizing" this favorite book from home. However, I must caution. In following kindergarteners into first grade (Sulzby, 1983) we found that children could recite with amazing accuracy storybooks like Where the Wild Things Are (Sendak, 1963) and often their basal reader stories. These children were being asked to re-tell the stories and they acted as if re-telling meant giving a verbatim recitation. At times, children would stop, look off in space, and re-say what they thought the story contained at that point. They displayed a clear attempt to retrieve the text as a stable, memorable entity.

We have given insufficient attention to the character and importance of children's "memorizing" or use of memory for text. First, it is clear that children do not just memorize as a rote technique but they learn the text "by heart" as some kind of conceptual entity. They seem to retrieve the text by various strategies which indicate that they are integrating parts of the comprehension process. Second, we have only a small but intriguing bit of data about how they learn the text in the first place. Clearly, repeating readings are important, along with children

attempting to do stretches of text. Memorable passages like rhythmic, repetitive, or emotionally salient stretches are important. Schemata for various kinds of stories appear to be used. Also, when they ask an adult for aid like re-reading for them they often try to re-state it to their own satisfaction, as did Joleen with The Big Orange Splot.

The most important question is how children use memory for storybook texts after they are attending to print, during the aspectual and strategy-dependent periods, and how this use of memory changes when they begin to read independently. I suggest that at the lower levels, memory works to allow the child to continue "reading" with understanding while slowing down the process to decipher or to recognize the marks on the page. I assume that it is "normal" for some children to temporarily abandon comprehension strategies in the aspectual level but "not normal" to fail to return to them. We clearly need to examine memory for text and other roots of reading comprehension in more depth and Kathy's case offers a beginning.

Kathy's parents demonstrated an attitude often found in children of "precocious readers"; they were concerned and somewhat apologetic about her reading. Unfortunately, many parents have been advised "not to teach" their children to read before first grade and they are afraid that they will be seen as "pushing" their children if the children do learn to read. Kathy's parents had never heard of the work of Durkin (1966) or Clark (1976), tracking the in-school progress of American and Scottish children who began to read before school

entry. While they appeared somewhat reassured when told of this research, they still expressed concern that she might not fit into the classroom. The day care teachers seemed to be pleased with Kathy's reading and urged her to read for them and other children. Nevertheless, both parents and teachers need to learn more about how children develop as readers and writers before instruction so that the entry into formal instruction can build upon the children's development. Teachers were not aware, for instance, that Martin was reading independently prior to Study IV and they were trying to "teach the sounds" to him when he was already using knowledge of letter-sound relationships proficiently.

Martin brought two books from home for Study IV and, like Kathy, he recited them in a low and rapid voice. Martin's reading was so rapid that it was unintelligible in stretches. One of the books was The Berenstains' B Book (Berenstain, 1973), which sounded like a tongue-twister filled with /b/, /b/, /b/. The mini-experiment for Ramin was to ask him to identify words in isolation and drawn at random from the book, to ask him to identify words with changes like initial consonant substitution. He handled these tasks easily. He could segment breadbasket into its two component parts (in contrast with Matt who claimed that the whole of button my buttons was found in each individual part) and he could also read the "hardest page" slowly. That final task was intended to get at whether he had over-depending on his memory for the text, a feat hard to accept since the text of this "storybook" was alliterative lists like "big brown

bear, blue book, beautiful new boat, biking backwards," etc. He also read items in the room pointed out at random.

In two kindergarten studies (Sulzby, 1981, 1982a), each containing 24 five-year-olds only one child was reading independently from storybooks in the fall. The current study contains one five-year-old, Martin, reading independently along with a four-year-old, Kathy. Both of these children were middle income, similar to the kindergarten samples; however, Joleen, our case study child from low income background, was rapidly approaching independence at the conclusion of the study and did begin to read independently during the subsequent months.

Levels Suspected But Not Included

By examining children's independent re-enactments in detail, we have uncovered orderly changes with development. However, the data also include dependent re-enactments which have not been worked into the analysis scheme sufficiently. As noted in the section on "refusals," these performances do appear to be developmental and not just results of lack of rapport. These data include instances in which the children are echoing or completing the adult's words. We do not know how "natural" these behaviors are, although Doake (1982) reports that parents and children interact this way at times.

In a few cases we have clues about how children incorporate the questions that parents ask in parent-child interaction (see also Cox & Sulzby, 1982). Jack (4-2) took charge of both his storybook re-enactments for Study II. Notice that Jack both asks and answers

his own questions. His language includes both "labelling and commenting" and "action-governed" characteristics, but in interaction with the adult he lets us know that he has an understanding that the book, The Berenstain Bears and the Missing Dinosaur Bones (Berenstain & Berenstain, 1980) contains a story and that he remembers specific vocabulary terms from that story, like "museum mummy case" and "Indian totem pole."

Child: (Pages silently to page 13 and points to picture.) What's that called?

Adult: Well, what do you think it's called?

Child: I think it called a, a museum mummy case.

Adult: Could be, yeah, I bet that's right.

Child: Hey, you know what--/look it/ this thing--that cuckoo gonna come out. (Referring to picture, turns and looks at adult.)

Adult: (Laughs) Oh, really.

Child: Yeah. (Turns pages to page 20.) Hey, you know what's up in here? (Picture of tower.)

Adult: (Laughs) No, tell me.

Child: I'll show you. (Turns to page 22) Here's what's up in there. See. Look it. That's the same guy (indecipherable phrase).

Adult: Oh.

Child: Lookit. He have a bone in his nose. (Turns to page 23.)

Adult: (Laughs.)

Child: He have fa--same face. (Points at both pages 22 and 23.)

Child: (Indecipherable syllables) Except his is little. He is big. (Referring contextually to both pictures.)
But you know what this is called? (Looks at adult.)

Adult: What?

Child: (Pause.) Totem Indian pole.

Adult: Uhmm.

Child: No, Indian totem pole.

Adult: Oh, okay.

Child: (Turns page, looks at adult. Child may have been pointing but video was pointed elsewhere.)

Adult: What?

Child: Hey, what that thing out there? (Points to picture of window, page 30.)

Adult: (Pause) I don't know.

Child: It's a bone. (Pause, points to both pages 30 and 31.) and look who's stole it. (Points to picture of Snuff, the dog, page 33, tapping finger.)

Adult: He did.

Jack went immediately into a comment about the pictures of the authors and did not clearly signal the end to the story part. It is not evident that he made such a distinction, although he showed tht he had heard the story read enough to be able to interpret the pictures. His language is highly contextualized, with much use of deitic terms and ambiguous pronouns. If we remove the adult speech and connect all

of Jack's, his re-enactment sounds like level three. We cannot assume, however, that he could have done independently what he did in verbal interaction with the adult. Vygotsky's (1978) theory of social interaction claims that children first perform in social interaction before they internalize speech into thought which can be used independently. Jack's re-enactment is a further indication that research in parent-child interaction and research looking at independent emergent reading attempts needs to be combined.

Other kinds of reading attempts are not covered, some of which can be seen in children as young as eight months (Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Ninio, 1980) in parent-child interaction and as young as eighteen months (personal observation) in spontaneous independent attempts in the home. Certainly, the research looking at the interactive speech of parents and children in the home (Ninio, 1980, 1983; Snow, 1982; Teale, in press) needs to be included and points to features to look for in independent attempts. However, I have observed a number of children using "babbling" with an intonation like reading, while paging sequentially through a storybook, at ages as young as 18 months. At 21 months, one child could be heard to use different phonological patterns when "reading" Three Billy Goats Gruff than her normal babbling patterns. After a week of using only this kind of babbling, she was heard to insert a threatening-sounding, "Eat you!" at intervals in the book, a repetition of the troll's words as he came after each Goat Gruff.

Social-class differences cannot be understood without comparing

the use of storybooks in the home with what the children do independently. In the current study, low income children showed as much variation as did middle income children although their performance as a whole was lower than the middle income children. For those low income children who showed high performance, like Joleen, there was evidence that the parents read to the children a lot and that books were available in the home. However, cross-cultural research like that of Heath (1982) and Ninio (1980) indicates that we must study the home reading patterns in greater detail.

"Favorite Storybooks" and the Parents

This study was begun by using the term "favorite storybook" based upon parents' and children's folk definitions and upon previous research in which children seemed able to select "favorites." In the winter of 1983, the parents of the children present for Study IV were interviewed as part a thesis study (Robinson, 1983); the questions asked about their children's behaviors with the books that had been sent as favorites used in Study IV. These parents confirmed the operating definition that we had been using: children ask for these books to be read repeatedly; they correct parents' departures from the text--as it had been established in early readings by the parent; and they attempted to read these books independently.

Conclusions

The study reported herein presents evidence that children aged two through four show developmental patterns when attempting to read from storybooks which they have selected as "favorites." Furthermore,

these behaviors show stability at points in time as well as developmental growth over time with the same children. The patterns of "reading" contain evidence of children's developing distinctions between written and oral language. Books that are selected by children as "favorites" appear to have an importance in "natural" reading development in the home that warrants further research, particularly research comparing parent-child interaction with children's independent performances.

Children's entry into "independent reading" is not from a position of no knowledge but from a position of long patterns of development. It is speculated that those patterns just prior to independent reading may interact detrimentally with some kinds of formal instruction.

Further research needs to point in two directions: downward in age and including both parent-child interaction and children's independent functioning; and more intensively into the period just before independent reading. If the developmental patterns continue to be detected, particularly cross-culturally, this research has extremely important implications for theory and practice in child development and education.

Appendix A:
Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks (ERAJFS)

Procedures: The child (ages 2-5) is asked to select a favorite storybook. Then the child is asked to read the book. If the child says that s/he cannot read, the child is urged to try, to "do it your way." A second level of prompting may be used which involves asking the child to "pretend" or "pretend-read" the book. This version of the ERAJFS scale applies only to re-enactments in which the child attempts to read the book independently, not in interaction with an adult, or "dependent re-enactments." (Dependent re-enactments may also reveal developmental patterns but they are not incorporated herein.)

The descriptions which follow usually characterize the majority of the speech utterances by the child in response to the book; however, occasionally a child's behavior fluctuates between levels. The lower levels of the scale and "refusal" behaviors probably need to be refined to describe the behaviors of younger children in more detail. Cautions are inserted into the narrative and should be noted.

A. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PRINT

In the A categories, the child signals that it is print which is read whether or not the child is reading conventionally by tracking print.

1. Holistic attempts. Here the child creates a version almost exactly like the written version.

   (a) Independent reading. The child is actually reading the print independently, using comprehension, letter-sound knowledge, and known words in a coordinated fashion in re-creating the text. Child may not read "word perfectly," but makes miscues showing all aspects of independent reading.

   (b) Strategy-dependent. Here the child seems to be reading independently by creating a print-governed version of the text, but the child shows definite strategies keyed to "aspectual" nature of reading attempts. In other words, the child's reading process does not seem to be fully "balanced" or integrated. Additionally, the child does not seem to be confident of independent control of the process. For example, the child may tend to omit unknown words excessively, substitute "whole words," or to sound-out to nonsense syllables excessively.

A. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PRINT (Continued)

2. "Aspectual" attempts. In this category, the child focuses upon one or two aspects of reading. (See Sulzby, 1981c, for discussion of "aspects" which get integrated into independent reading.) This category is distinguished from strategy-dependent attempts because in these attempts the parts are not integrated rather than simply being unequally balanced. The following examples highlight each aspect separately; however, the child may show different combinations of behavior. The descriptions that follow do not imply order of acquisition.

—LETTER/SOUND ASPECT. The child may treat reading as a sounding-out task. Child will laboriously try to sound-out words with varying degrees of success. The task is so laborsome that the child may give up and not be able to read long stretches of text; nevertheless, the child will be very aware that the whole book has not been read. The child may refuse to go on or may revert to "pretend-reading," depending upon memory for text with or without attention to print.

—KNOWN WORD ASPECT. The child will go through meaningful text reading only words that s/he knows. Occasionally, the child may read phrases but s/he seems to be governed by a principle like, "Say the words if you know them; if not, skip them." As with letter/sound aspect, the child may give up or revert to other behaviors.

—COMPREHENSION ASPECT. Comprehension here is "memory for text," rather than anticipated meaning. The child recites the actual text almost verbatim, if not in full, in many parts. Here the child looks at print a great deal of the time and clearly indicates that it is the print that is read, but actual tracking of print seems to interfere with memory for text and the wording deteriorates. Child may give up looking at print and memory may seem more precise or child may switch to dependence on other aspects such as letter/sound relationships.

3. Print-governed refusal. Here the child refuses to read and refuses to "pretend-read," insisting that print is what gets read and that s/he cannot read. This category often needs to be compared with earlier or later attempts to be distinguished from less mature refusals.

B. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PICTURES AND STORIES ARE FORMED. (This category has two major divisions, based upon whether the child's language sounds like written or oral language; like "reading" or "storytelling.")

1. Written language-like attempts.

(a) Verbatim-like attempts. Child recites story that is close to verbatim and uses written language phrases when departing from verbatim; very similar to COMPREHENSION ASPECTUAL reading attempt except that child is "reading" the pictures rather than attending to print. Child uses self-correction behaviors as if attempting to retrieve exact wording of original. (Judgment of attempt is made by child's inferred intention, not accuracy.)

(b) Similar to written text. Child renders story that is similar to the original but not close to verbatim. Child creates patterns that are written language-like but not contained in the original. Child "reads" with "reading intonation" much of the time and the wording is like written language. The story created is a decontextualized, coherent whole.

(c) Created story, written influence. Child renders story that departs from actual text in sequence of match of content to pages or in actual content itself; nevertheless, child creates a whole story with clear signals of sense of audience. The story is primarily decontextualized. The wording and intonation can be a mixture of oral language-like speech and written language-like. (Beware here of the child who may be attempting to read a story with which s/he is not very familiar; this lack of familiarity could result in placing the child's abilities here rather than in higher categories.)

2. Oral language-like attempts.*

(a) Story told for audience. Child tells the story from the pictures as if for an audience. The story forms a coherent whole and the child's intonation sounds like storytelling rather than reading. Sentence syntax and phrasing sound like speech, with a high degree of contextualization.

(b) Disconnected oral dramatic dialogue and/or interactive conversational comments. As distinct from C1, action-governed attempts, at this level the child's speech forms a story of sorts; the overall attempt is disconnected but a story-like sequence can be inferred. Many behaviors appear to be associated with this level. The child may create dialogue to go along with the pictures, often depending upon "voices" for characters. Child may also give sentential comments that sound interactive rather than narrative. Child does not link dialogue with narrative nor give needed exposition but there is some evidence of audience needs. Mixture of present, present progressive, and past tenses add to judgment that attempt is disjointed in contrast with 2a which is coherent.

C. ATTEMPTS WHICH ARE GOVERNED BY PICTURES BUT STORIES ARE NOT FORMED.*

These attempts are distinguished as "reading" in part by the fact that the child reverts to a less mature speech form than s/he uses in normal conversation. This is in contrast with the B1 and A attempts in which the child's speech forms sound more formal and "mature" than s/he normally uses for conversation.

1. Action-governed attempts. The child's comments sound as if s/he thinks the action in the picture is almost taking place here-and-now. Verb forms are usually present or present progressive; future-sounding statements, like "he's gonna catch him," can be inferred from the picture being examined. At times, the comments and the child's pointing almost seem to be comments to self instead of to an audience; at other times, the child directs the adult with comments like, "Lookit. He's running." The child may skip parts of the book or re-cycle in varying orders.

2. Labelling and commenting attempts. The child comments on pictures to adult, naming items or parts or commenting on parts for the adult, e.g., "This is X," "Doggie," "Brush him teefs," etc. No coherent story is formed. Very young children skip many parts of the book and/or re-cycle in varying orders.**

*B2 and C levels probably need to be expanded, based upon preliminary results with younger children. Also omitted from this version of the scale are refusals that lead to dependent re-enactments; interactive readings; and non-verbal responses such as looking all through the book without talking. Currently "low-level" refusals; interactive readings; and such responses as "page-turning" are scored as the lowest level of the scale because they do not result in independent attempts.

**This version of "Emergent Reading Ability Judgments for Favorite Storybooks," was used in scoring the data for this final report to The Spencer Foundation. The report addresses some of the issues mentioned as cautions and as the first footnote above.

Reference Notes

1. Sulzby, E. Children's emergent reading of favorite storybooks: A developmental study. A revision of A scale for judging emergent reading of favorite storybooks, presented at the National Reading Conference, Clearwater Beach, December 1982. This revision contains preliminary data from the research reported herein and is being revised to use the final data prior to submission for publication.
2. Teale, W. H., & Sulzby, E. (Eds.), Emergent literacy: Writing and reading. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, in preparation. This book will contain state-of-the-art reports by leading researchers in emergent literacy, many of whom are cited in the body of this report.

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[1]Otto, B. Evidence of emergent reading behaviors in young children's interactions with favorite storybooks, is a dissertation nearing completion at Northwestern University using data from Study II and III of this project. Otto also collected the data for Study I and aided in preliminary scoring and analysis.

[2]Fay Robinson designed and collected the data for the parent interview for her M.A. thesis at Northwestern University. She will be giving a paper from this part of her study at the National Reading

Conference in Austin, December 1983. While parents had been informed about the general nature of the study, Robinson asked them about their children's behaviors with the specific books sent for Study IV, thus lessening the possibility that they would give us answers that they might have thought we wanted. The details of the study added some unusual twists to our preconceptions. For instance, parents spoke wearily and almost with disgust at the children's pressure for them to keep reading a particular "favorite." Also, the books were somewhat more ordinary and less "literary classics" than Robinson had expected.

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